

Message Text

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02531 01 OF 03 090538Z
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AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USUN 2531

SAN JOSE FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, US, UN, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: FIRST DAY OF WESTERN FIVE TALKS WITH SWAPO

REFS: A. USUN 2487
B. USUN 2516

1. SUMMARY. FIRST DAY OF WESTERN FIVE TALKS WITH SWAPO
CONSISTED PRIMARILY OF: (1) WESTERN FIVE PRESENTATION
OF THREE-PART STATEMENT, PER REFTELS; (2) SWAPO OPENING
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PAGE 02 USUN N 02531 01 OF 03 090538Z

PRESENTATION WHICH CONSISTED ESSENTIALLY OF REITERATION
OF PAST SWAPO PUBLIC STATEMENTS; AND (3) DISCUSSION OF
WITHDRAWAL OF SAG TROOPS. IN COURSE OF THIS DISCUSSION,
NUJOMA ACCEPTED CONCEPT OF PHASED WITHDRAWAL, STATED THAT
WITHDRAWAL WOULD HAVE TO BE COMPLETED SEVERAL WEEKS PRIOR
TO ELECTION DAY, AND AGREED THAT, GIVEN ADEQUATE
NEUTRALIZATION OF SAG TROOPS BY UN OBSERVERS, ELECTORAL

PROCESS (INCLUDING CAMPAIGNING) COULD COINCIDE WITH THE WITHDRAWAL PROCESS. NUJOMA ALSO AGREED THAT CEASEFIRE COULD BE FIRST STEP IN WITHDRAWAL PROCEDURE. HE INSISTED, HOWEVER, THAT PROCESS OF PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF SAG TROOPS COINCIDE ALSO WITH PHASED INTRODUCTION OF UN TROOPS. END SUMMARY.

2. FIRST SESSION OF WESTERN FIVE TALKS WITH SWAPO TOOK PLACE AUGUST 9 FROM 1000 TO 1145. SESSION CONSISTED OF WESTERN FIVE PRESENTATION OF THREE-PART STATEMENT, PER REFTELS.

3. SECOND SESSION TOOK PLACE AUGUST 8 FROM 1500 TO 1730. ATMOSPHERE WAS CALM AND BUSINESS-LIKE, AS WAS CASE IN FIRST SESSION. SWAPO PRESIDENT WAS FIRST SPEAKER OF AFTERNOON SESSION, AND, FOLLOWING OPENING REMARKS, HE PROCEEDED TO READ PAPER CONTAINING SWAPO'S PROPOSALS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA (SEE PARA 8). BOTH REMARKS AND PAPER ESSENTIALLY REITERATED PAST SWAPO PUBLIC STATEMENTS. PRIMARY POINTS MADE BY NUJOMA DURING OPENING REMARKS AND SUBSEQUENT COMMENTS WERE:" (1) SINGLE BIGGEST OBSTACLE IN WAY OF NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IS PRESENCE OF SAG TROOPS II NAMIBIA; (2) ROLE OF UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE MUST BE MORE CLEARLY DEFINED; SWAPO CERTAINLY WILL NOT ACCPET APPOINTMENT OF ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL BY SAG. (3) WESTERN FIVE MUST RECOGNIZE TOTAL DISTRUST WHICH SWAPO FEELS FOR SAG. (4) INSINCERITY OF SAG IS EVIDENCED BY FACT THAT SAG CONTINUES TO GIVE PUBLIC SUPPORT TO TURNHALLE INDIVIDUALS. CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 USUN N 02531 01 OF 03 090538Z

(5) SAG CREATION OF TRIBAL ARMIES IS NOTHING BUT GROUND-LAYING FOR EVENTUAL NAMIBIA CIVIL WAR.

4. FOLLOWING NUJOMA'S REMARKS AND READING OF PAPER, DISCUSSION ENSURED CENTERING AROUND ISSUE OF WITHDRAWAL OF SAG TROOPS. IN COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS, NUJOMA ACCEPTED CONCEPT OF PHASED WITHDRAWAL (OVER PERIOD OF PERHAPS SEVEN MONTHS), STATED THAT WITHDRAWAL WOULD HAVE TO BE COMPLETED SEVERAL WEEKS PRIOR TO ELECTION DAY, AND AGREED THAT, GIVEN ADEQUATE NEUTRALIZATION OF SAG TROOPS BY UN OBSERVERS, ELECTORAL PROCESS (INCLUDING CAMPAIGNING) COULD COINCIDE WITH THE WITHDRAWAL PROCESS. NUJOMA ALSO AGREED THAT CEASEFIRE COULD BE FIRST STEP IN WITHDRAWAL PROCEDURE. HE INSISTED, HOWEVER, THAT PROCESS OF PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF SAG TROOPS COINCIDE ALSO WITH PHASED INTRODUCTION OF UN TROOPS.

5. IN AN ATTEMPT TO FURTHER DELINEATE SWAPO'S POSITION, AMB. MCHENRY THEN RASIED QUESTION OF WHETHER SWAPO WOULD BE WILLING TO ALLOW EVEN TOKEN SAG FORCE, UNDER UN SUPERVISION, TO REMAIN IN NAMIBIA UNTIL AND BEYOND ELECTION DAY. MCHENRY'S VIEW WAS THAT TOKEN SAG FORCE WOULD ALLOW

VORSTER TO MAINTAIN VALIDITY OF SAG JURIDICAL POSITION AND
WOULD UNDERLINE SAG PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL PROCESS.
NUJOMA REITERATED HIS POSITION THAT ALL SAG TROOPS MUST
BE OUT OF NAMIBIA SEVERAL WEEKS PRIOR TO ELECTION DAY.

6. SECOND SESSION ADJOURNED WITH UNDERSTANDING THAT
THIRD SESSION WOULD CONSIST OF FURTHER COMMENTS
ON QUESTION OF WITHDRAWAL AND THEN DISCUSSION OF TRANSI-
TIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS. FOURTH SESSION WOULD
CONCERN POLITICAL PRISONERS.

7. COMMENT: WESTERN FIVE DECIDED TO CONFRONT LARGEST
OBSTACLE FIRST BY DISCUSSING WITHDRAWAL. SWAPO REVEALED SOME
FLEXIBILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO TALK SERIOUSLY, WHICH
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PAGE 04 USUN N 02531 01 OF 03 090538Z

RESULTED IN SOME IMPORTANT UNDERSTANDINGS BEING ACHIEVED.
END COMMNET.

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02531 02 OF 03 090556Z
ACTION IO-14

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 USUN 2531

SAN JOSE FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

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8. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PAPER READ BY SWAPO ENTITLED
"SWAPO'S PROPOSALS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA".

QUOTE

SWAPO'S PROPOSALS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA

INTRODUCTION

SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE INITIATIVE BY THE FIVE WESTERN
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PAGE 02 USUN N 02531 02 OF 03 090556Z

MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TOWARDS A SOLUTION, ACCEPTABLE TO
BOTH THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE AND THE WORLD COMMUNITY, SWAPO HAS BEEN
CLOSELY FOLLOWING, THROUGH BRIEFS, THE DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING THE
TALKS BETWEEN THE FIVE AND SOUTH AFRICA.

IT IS OUR CONSIDERED OPINION, HOWEVER, THAT TO DATE NOTHING
SUBSTANTIAL HAS BEEN ACHIEVED WHICH WOULD WARRANT OPTIMISM ON OUR
PART. IF ANYTHING, THE DEVELOPMENTS THUS FAR HAVE CONFIRMED OUT
GRAVE DOUBTS ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA'S SINCERITY AND READINESS TO END HER
OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA.

WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE SECOND ROUND OF TALKS BETWEEN THE
FIVE AND THE SOUTH AFRICA GOVERNMENT, SWAPO FINDS THAT AGREEMENTS
CONTAINED IN THE PACKAGE RESULTING FROM THE TALKS CONSTITUTE A NEGA-
TION OF RESOLUTION 385 AND, HENCE, ARE TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO US.

FOR INSTANCE, THE AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE SO-CALLED ADMINISTRATOR
-

GENERAL HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH RESOLUTION 385; AND THE VERY FACT THAT
SOUTH AFRICA HAS GONE AHEAD WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF THE SO-CALLED
ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE UN IS A CLEAR INDICATI
ON

THAT THE WHOLE EXERCISE IS BEING DELIBERATELY CONDUCTED OUTSIDE THE
FRAMEWORK OF RESOLUTION 385.

FURTHERMORE, THE CALCULATED COINING OF A NEW CONCEPT OF UN
"INVOLVEMENT" AS OPPOSED TO UN SUPERVISION AND CONTROL IS ANOTHER
CLEAR INDICATION THAT THERE IS AN ATTEMPT TO EVADE UN'S FULL AND
EXPLICIT ROLE IN THE RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT.

AS FAR AS SWAPO IS CONCERNED, THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE FIVE AND SOUTH AFRICA DO NOT INDICATE ANY SINCERE READINESS, ON THE PART OF SOUTH AFRICA, TO RELEASE NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS WHOM SOUTH AFRICA
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PAGE 03 USUN N 02531 02 OF 03 090556Z

HAS IMPRISONED SOLELY BECAUSE THEY OPPOSED HER ILLEGAL AND OPPRESSIVE OCCUPATION OF OUR COUNTRY. ON THE CONTRARY, THE PACKAGE TALKS ABOUT A PANEL OF JURISTS TO DETERMINE WHO THE POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE, AS IF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT DID NOT KNOW WHO THEY ARE. THIS IDEA OF A PANEL OF JURISTS IS IRRELEVANT AND THEREFORE TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE.

WHILE DISCUSSIONS ARE BEING ENTERED INTO BETWEEN SWAPO AND THE FIVE ACTING ON THEIR OWN BEHALF OR ON BEHALF OF SOUTH AFRICA, CERTAIN PRINCIPLES MUST BE SETTLED AND SOUTH AFRICA MADE TO PRONOUNCE HERSELF CLEARLY

ON THEM. THESE PRINCIPLES ARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF NAMIBIA
SOUTH AFRICA MUST PUBLICLY ANNOUNCE IN CATEGORICAL TERMS THAT SHE WILL FULLY RESPECT AND OBSERVE THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF NAMIBIA.
2. WITHDRAWAL OF ARMED FORCES
SOUTH AFRICA MUST UNDERTAKE PUBLICLY TO WITHDRAW OF ALL HER ARMED FORCES FROM NAMIBIA AS A PRE-CONDITION TO THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS.
3. FREE ELECTION
SOUTH AFRICA MUST UNRESERVEDLY ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF FREE ELECTIONS IN NAMIBIA BASED ON UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE.
4. UNIMPEDED PROGRESS TO GENUINE INDEPENDENCE
SOUTH AFRICA MUST CLEARLY STATE HER ACCEPTANCE OF COMPLETE AND UNCONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA AND UNDERTAKE TO DO NOTHING THAT WILL IMPEDE THE PROGRESS OR COMPLICATE THE ROAD TO GENUINE INDEPENDENCE.
5. RESPECT AND PRESERVATION OF THE PUBLIC PROPERTY OF NAMIBIA
SOUTH AFRICA MUST COMMIT HERSELF TO SAGEGUARDING ALL PUBLIC PROPERTY OF NAMIBIA INCLUDING NAMIBIA'S TREASURY AND RESERVES SO THAT THE SAME WILL BE HANDED OVER TO AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. SOUTH AFRICA MUST UNDERTAKE NOT TO SABOTAGE, DESTROY OR REMOVE FROM NAMIBIA ANY SUCH PROPERTY.
6. RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY OF INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA

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PAGE 04 USUN N 02531 02 OF 03 090556Z

SOUTH AFRICA MUST PUBLICLY COMMIT HERSELF TO RESPECTING THE SOVEREIGNTY OF INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA AND UNDERTAKE NOT TO DO ANY-

THING THAT WILL UNDERMINE OR DEROGATE FROM SUCH SOVEREIGNTY.

WITHDRAWAL MECHANICS

UPON SOUTH AFRICA PUBLICLY COMMITTING HERSELF TO THE PRINCIPLES

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02531 03 OF 03 090604Z
ACTION IO-14

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 USUN 2531

SAN JOSE FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

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ABOVE, TALKS WILL THEN BE HELD BETWEEN SWAPO, UN AND SOUTH AFRICA ON
THE MECHANICS AND MODALITIES INVOLVED IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF INDEPENDENCE.
-

A. WITHDRAWAL OF ARMED FORCE

AFTER SOUTH AFRICA HAS PUBLICLY UNDERTAKEN TO WITHDRAW ALL HER

ARMED FORCES FROM NAMIBIA, A LOGISTICAL PROGRAMME FOR SUCH WITHDRAWAL
WILL BE DISCUSSED.

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PAGE 02 USUN N 02531 03 OF 03 090604Z

SWAPO APPRECIATES THE FACT THAT SUCH WITHDRAWAL CAN REASONABLY
NOT TAKE PLACE OVER NIGHT AND, THAT IN ORDER TO CREATE A CLIMATE OF
PEACE LEADING TO PEACEFUL TRANSITION, AND TO ENSURE CONFIDENCE AMONG
ALL THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY BETWEEN WHITES AND BLACKS WHERE
TODAY A RACIAL CONFLICT AND HATRED EXIST PROMOTED DELIBERATELY UNDER
THE DISCRIMINATORY LAWS OF SOUTH AFRICA, SUCH WITHDRAWAL SHOULD BE
INTER-CHANGEABLY PHASED OUT, THAT IS, THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPIN
G
FORCE TAKING OVER THE POSITIONS OF THE WITHDRAWING SOUTH AFRICAN ARME
D
FORCES. THIS PROCESS SHOULD START IMMEDIATELY AND SHOULD NOT TAKE
MORE THAN THREE MONTHS FROM THE DATE OF AGREEMENT ON THE WITHDRAWAL
OF ALL SOUTH AFRICAN ARMED FORCES.

DURING THIS WITHDRAWAL PERIOD, THE UN MOVES ITS ADMINISTRATIVE
MACHINERY INTO THE COUNTRY TO TAKE OVER THE ADMINISTRATION AND PUBLIC
SECURITY AND EMBARKS ON THE ORGANIZATION FOR ELECTIONS.

B. ELECTIONS

SWAPO COMMITS ITSELF TO FAIR, GENUINE AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS
UNDER U.N. SUPERVISION AND CONTROL.

SWAPO'S POSITION IS THAT IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO HOLD ELECTION
TWICE BEFORE INDEPENDENCE, I.E., FIRST TO ELECT A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
AND THEN TO ELECT AN INDEPENDENCE PARLIAMENT. THIS PROCESS WOULD BE
CONFUSING EXPENSIVE AND TIME CONSUMING. OF COURSE, SWAPO SEES THE
NEED FOR CERTAIN CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES TO BE SETTLED BEFORE INDEPEND-
ENCE IN ORDER THAT INDEPENDENCE ELECTIONS CAN BE BASED ON SUCH SETTLE
D
ISSUES, BUT SUCH PROCESS IS LONG OVER DUE.

SWAPO MAINTAINS THAT THIS CAN BE ACHIEVED BY A MEETING TO BE
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PAGE 03 USUN N 02531 03 OF 03 090604Z

ATTENDED BY SWAPO, SOUTH AFRICA AND U.N. HERE, TOO, SWAPO SHOULD BE
FREE TO BRING IN ANYONE AS PART OF ITS DELEGATION. SWAPO LEADERS IN
DETENTION IN NAMIBIA OR SOUTH AFRICA WHOSE PRESENCE IS REQUESTED BY
SWAPO SHOULD BE FREE FROM DETENTION AND ALLOWED TO ATTEND.

IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT SUCH ELECTION SHOULD TAKE PLACE
AFTER THE CONDITIONS ON WITHDRAWAL OF THE ARMED FORCES AS STIPULATED
ABOVE HAVE BEEN FULFILLED.

SWAPO IS OF THE VIEW THAT IF SUCH ELECTIONS ARE TO BE GENUINE,
FREE, FAIR AND DEMOCRATIC THE WHOLE PROCESS FOR ELECTIONEERING
CAMPAIGN AND THE HOLDING OF THE ELECTION ITSELF SHOULD START ONE MONTH
AFTER THE COMPLETION OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL SOUTH AFRICAN ARMED FORCES
AND THAT THE ELECTIONEERING PROCESS SHOULD NOT EXCEED EIGHT MONTHS.

C. U.N. PEACE-KEEPING FORCE

IN ORDER TO ENSURE U.N. SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF ELECTIONS,,
SWAPO PROPOSES THAT THERE SHOULD BE A U.N. PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IN
NAMIBIA.

D. SIZE OF THE U.N. PEACE-KEEPING FORCE

IN THE VIEW OF SWAPO, IT IS NOT NECESSARY FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
TO RAISE A FORCE OF THE SAME NUMBER AS THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARMED FORCES
,
I.E., ABOUT 50,000; FOR, IN CONDITIONS OF PEACE SUCH A NUMBER OF
TROOPS IS NOT NECESSARY AND, INDEED, HAS NEVER AT ANY TIME BEEN
JUSTIFIED. SOUTH AFRICA WAS FORCED TO STATION SUCH AN INORDINATELY
LARGE NUMBERS OF TROOPS FOR THE PURPOSE OF TERRORIZING AND SUPPRESSING
THE PEOPLE. THE REQUIRED SIZE OF THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING
FORCE MUST BE SUFFICIENTLY LARGE TO ENSURE EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF THE
TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS.

SWAPO WOULD WILLINGLY TAKE PART IN DISCUSSIONS OF THE UNITED
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PAGE 04 USUN N 02531 03 OF 03 090604Z

NATIONAL AS TO THE FINANCING AND COMPOSITION OF THE UNITED NATIONS
FORCE. UNQUOTE

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